10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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776 abbreviated composite term, "Spirit-force"[1] as an equivalent in the translations. Man·i'·t·u is applied to both supreme and the subordinate deities, the symbols of deities, the elements of nature, animals, trees, herbs, the force that dominates them and which transcends to man as a motive agent, and, we may feel assured, many other manifestations of a sort recognized in the inner linguistic and religious consciousness of the Delawares that are quite beyond their capacity to express in English. My idea of the rendering "Spirit-force" for the term is not to adopt an equivalent that is definitive but rather one that suggests the vagueness of the idea we have of it, and yet emphasizes some of the properties implied in the term. Hence I am willing to concede that it might be advisable simply to carry over the native term itself into the translations and discussion. In the choice of the two courses, however, the more economical and unilingual English designation has seemed preferable. It will be time enough later, I believe, to theorize upon the totality of the natural philosophy of the man·i'·t·u concept when we obtain further specific information so much needed from Algonkian groups as yet unstudied.

Returning to consideration of the Delaware term, we find in the anonymous manuscript of Moravian authorship edited by Brinton,[2] manitto, "maker, creator, God," with an emendation by Anthony, the Munsee collaborator, "properly spirit, not maker," (manitou to make.)[3] Harrington[4] ascribes the meaning of "invisible beings," to the term in its plural form (manitowuk) some great, others of lesser influence, who control the phenomena of nature, the affairs of mankind, the entire world as we know it, in some of which good predominates, in other evil.

Zeisberger has some discussion of the man·it·u as a personal guardian spirit revealed to the individual who appeals to its mercy (see p. 52) but he has little to say pertinent to the man·i'·t·u concept as we are considering it here.

In the present text we are taught, as the followers of the native religion in the Big House, are that the man·i'·t·u are in most cases "grandfathers" in others "elder brothers," and include the wild animals, trees, sun, moon, stars, thunders and other natural forces with deistic traits. The carved faces in the Big House represent them collectively, except for the larger images on the center post which represent the Supreme man·i'·t·u, the Creator. All are esteemed in a mental attitude of combined worship and prayer, in Delaware pa"taman.

776 608 TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY APPLIED TO SPIRITUAL FORCES.—The designation of individual dieties of a native pantheon by terms of human

[1] While the verb man·i·to'·wak, "they make" occurs in the text, it is not admitted as sufficient for an equivalent in full.
[2] Brinton II, p. 74.
[3] Ibid, II, p. 73.
[4] Harrington I, p. 17.

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776 consanguinity is to be noted widely in native American religious sys-
608 tems. The Delawares share this phenomenon. The relationship classification of the various spiritual forces recognized is given in the following grouping.

muxo"məən·a, "our grandfather."
Eagle, ai'xam, and feathers mi'kwəna.
Air, ge"exiŋ
Planets and heavenly bodies as revealed in dreams and visions, moca'pan·o'k·e's (lit. "sky-creators")
Thunders, pe't'hak'owe'yok
Trees, hi't'kuk'
Vegetation, pe"mi·alomi'sa"'aka'
Carved Faces in the Big House, mae·i'ŋgok
Turtle-rattles, eux'əni'k·an·ak
Water, "bi·
Fire, to'n·dai
Tobacco, k""ca"'taj'
ko'xəmən·a, "our grandmother."
Herb medicines, pi'sun
Corn, χe'akwi·m
ni·ma'xtəən·a, "our brother," or xa"'əna "our elder brother."
Turtle, ta'xkoxk'
Snow, ku"n
Bear, ma'xk""
Animals (ae'ə·ə·ak) in general considered as existing in clan relationship with humans. The latter are "kings" among animals.
Night sun, moon (male), ni'pai· gi'eux
Day sun (male), gi'ekwəni·i· gi'eux
Stars, lighting system, portion of the moon; ala'ŋgok
gahe'əna, "our mother."
Sea, bodies of water, mən·a'pe'k
Running Water, "bi· pe'mi'tan·i·k'
Earth, hak·iŋ
ko'xən·a, "our father."
Great Spirit, ke'tan'to'wi·t'

776 These deistic relatives of the Delawares all have their special functions to pursue under the surveillance of the "Great Spirit even the Creator." The missionary accounts and contemporary information from the living native worshipers coincide nicely in regard to the attributes of the graded spirit-forces. For some of them we have but a few remarks which will be found inserted as footnotes in the English translation of the text, for others, however, concerning which Witapano'xwe had explicit information to offer accumulating more than could well be condensed in such short space, separate treatment seems

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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewontaimen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."